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national intercourse by all possible means, such as the development of the telegraph, postal and railway systems, the use of the metric system, etc.

In the afternoon of the third day the International Peace Bureau held its annual meeting.

On Sunday some of the delegates attended religious worship at the historic Presbyterian Church; others had an excursion on the Danube in a steamer placed at their disposal by the Hungarian River and Sea S. S. Company, taking a sumptuous breakfast on Margaret Island and spending the afternoon visiting the Exposition.

At the opening of the fourth day's proceedings, Monday, September 21, a Report from the Berne Bureau was read on the influence of school books of history in inculcating principles of peace or war. After some speeches on the subject the President encouraged the members of the Congress to do what they could each in his own sphere to win teachers to the cause of peace.

Mr. Gaston Moch, from one of the Committees, then read a report on the subject of the Transformation of Armies into productive agencies and also on the subject of an International Language. The two subjects were referred to separate Committees for study and report next year.

A resolution introduced by Professor Stein of Berne was unanimously passed encouraging the friends of peace, on the occasion of parliamentary elections, to inquire of candidates whether, if elected, they would join the Interparliamentary Peace Group in their parliament.

On the proposition of Dr. Hugo Ganz, in the name of the German Peace Societies, a resolution was passed to encourage better understanding between nations by facilitating means of travel, and by the interchange of young people desiring to pursue their studies abroad according to a custom which has prevailed for some time between Switzerland and Hungary. The creation of a bureau of information at Berne to facilitate such interchange was recommended.

The Congress seems to have touched the sore spot of Europe when it came to the question of the duel. It seems inconceivable in this country that intelligent men, seeking to promote the great principles of peace, could stand up in a peace Congress and defend so wicked and senseless a thing, but it is not strange that this should happen in Europe. The question had to come up sooner or later and it is not strange that, on its first consideration, the discussion should have been "even angry." But the storm will clear the air and before long every true friend of peace will be ashamed that he ever upheld so monstrous a practice. After an excited debate which was participated in by Herr Renk, Félix Lacaze, Count Zichy, Marquis Pandolfi, Signor Pierantoni, Dr. Bazouyi, S. J. Capper, F. T. Green and Professor Stein, Mr. Houzeau de la Haie, who was President of the Congress at Antwerp two years ago, proposed a resolution recommending that, as duelling is contrary to the principles supported by the Peace Congress, every effort be used to bring the practice to an end and to secure the execution of the laws against it. After some hesitation this resolution was adopted.

At the afternoon session of the fourth day the Committee to which the subject of International Arbitration had been referred made its report. After discussion as to the undesirability of making arbitration compulsory, a resolution, introduced by Pastor Gsell of Zurich, was

discussed and passed unanimously, expressing approval of the plan for a permanent international tribunal adopted by the Interparliamentary Conference at Brussels last year and urging the members of the Interparliamentary Union to proceed steadfastly with their work till some such plan shall have been adopted.

The subject of disarmament then came up from Committee and from the floor. The resolution from the floor, presented by Mr. Byles, late M. P., took the place of that presented by the Committee and was adopted unanimously. It protested against the constantly increasing expenditure on Armaments, urged national legislators everywhere to vote against any further increase, and called upon voters in every country to vote only for candidates in favor of this policy.

In the evening of this day a magnificent dinner was given to the members of the Congress by the municipality of Buda-Pesth, the mayor of the city presiding.

At the opening of the last sitting of the Congress on Tuesday the President announced that a message had been received from the Emperor Francis Joseph thanking the Congress for the address sent to him. The program was then resumed and the subject of the future constitution of the peace congresses taken up. The Committee report recommended that the subject be carried over another year, but this course was opposed. A majority of the delegates voted in favor of giving the Congress a permanent organization, acting through an appointed executive, with full powers between the annual meetings. Each peace society is to have one delegate, and then one for each hundred members, up to ten but no more. Any public institution, desiring to participate, may send one delegate. Every organization sending a delegate must pay a quota of ten francs, and five francs for every additional vote. This subject had been before the Congresses for several years, but heretofore a majority had always voted against the adoption of a close and rigid organization such as has now been made. It is to be hoped that the course taken may not introduce confusion in future Congresses and ultimately greatly weaken them or cause their disintegration altogether. The American and English delegates have nearly all been opposed to this move, believing that the Congresses should be popular gatherings, deciding in each case as to their membership, and giving their chief attention to the enunciation and propagation of great principles.

An appeal to the nations, which had been prepared by the Peace Bureau, was read and approved by acclamation. This appeal we give in full on another page.

A proposition that the Congress meet hereafter every two years, instead of annually, was defeated.

Invitations were given from Hamburg and Lisbon for the Congress next year. But the decision as to the place of meeting was left with the Berne Bureau. After the usual votes of thanks to the President and others, the President with appropriate remarks closed the labors of the Congress.

#### THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Interparliamentary Peace Conference, which held its sessions at Buda-Pesth immediately after the Peace Congress closed, was attended by about 250 members of various European parliaments. This we believe was the

largest number of delegates ever present at one of the Conferences of this body. The sessions were presided over by the Speaker of the Hungarian Lower House, the meetings being held in the House of the Hungarian Magistrates. Delegates from various countries reported that the peace movement was growing rapidly everywhere. Mr. Philip Stanhope, who reported for England, was received with great applause. He gave an account of the progress during the year toward the establishment of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, which he believed would be realized before the close of the year. Count Apponyi, reporting for Hungary, said that the peace group in the Hungarian parliament now numbered 200.

The chief discussion of the Conference was on the subject of a permanent court of arbitration. Eloquent speeches were made on the subject, the discussion continuing all the first afternoon and a part of the next day. The basis of the discussion was the Plan for a permanent tribunal drawn up by the Conference at Brussels the previous year and sent in the form of a memorial to the different powers. The Interparliamentary Bureau at Berne was authorized to take steps to try to induce certain powers to proceed to create such a court.

The question of the protection of foreigners and the right of expulsion gave rise to an interesting discussion, and a number of proposals were adopted as to the civil, commercial, industrial and property rights of aliens, all in harmony with the best spirit of our time.

The question of neutrality, or the right of every state to declare itself neutral, was not discussed, but the Bureau was instructed to make a preliminary study of the subject.

The most animated debate in the Conference was upon the question whether delegates from non-constitutional states, like Russia, should be admitted into the Interparliamentary Peace Union. The discussion was participated in by delegates from Hungary, Poland, Austria, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium and England. The importance of securing the coöperation of Russia in the interests of peace was so ably presented by Count Apponyi and Mr. Stanhope that when the vote came only eleven votes were cast in opposition to their admission. The constitution of the Union will be so changed as to admit them.

The Report of the labors of the Interparliamentary Bureau at Berne was read by the Secretary of the Bureau, Dr. Gobat, and the members of the Bureau selected for the coming year.

The Conference closed, after three days of work, with a grand banquet given by the municipality of Buda-Pesth, at which the place of honor was given to Mr. Frederic Passy, the veteran peace worker of France.

### SOME OBSTACLES TO INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

BY JEROME DOWD, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIOLOGY, TRINITY COLLEGE, N. C.

In every state or nation there exists a public conscience and a private conscience; a public morality and a private morality. In a democracy the national conscience is the expression or effect of individual minds and standards, and it is always inferior in quality to the individual standards.

People will do things collectively through their governmental executives and legislatures which they would blush to do as individuals. People who would not steal in a private way will sanction a legislative scheme which enables them to steal on a larger scale. People who would not repudiate a debt in their ordinary transactions, will sanction a legal process which accomplishes the same end. The history of every country, and especially our own during the colonial period, furnishes many examples of this truth.

The present policy of nations in reference to international protection of their respective rights and properties, forcibly illustrates the inferiority of that policy as compared to the policy adopted for protecting the rights and property of individuals within each nation.

As individuals we have a profound contempt for the bully or coward who seeks to command respect by walking the streets with a pistol in his pocket or a bowie-knife in his belt. As individuals we regard any citizen with aversion and as a sort of barbarian, who wishes to draw that pistol or bowie-knife, when he has a dispute or misunderstanding with his fellow-citizen over a small pecuniary transaction or question of trespass on private right. We neither admire nor respect men who wish to settle matters with their fellow-men by force and violence. The bully and the dueller have fallen into disfavor in all civilized countries and among all enlightened citizens.

Yet the policy of nations in settling their differences is exactly that of the bully and dueller. The resort to force by nations is only duelling on a larger scale, and it is none the less a shame and disgrace to our civilization. Only by appealing to the public through the press, and especially through the organs of Peace Societies can we effect a realization of the fact and arouse that consciousness and general sentiment which will result in a change of national policy.

We need to have the absurdity of our policy presented to a wide circle of people. A great obstacle to a strong arbitration sentiment is the existence of a false pride among the people. On this point, a quotation from Ruskin comes to mind. "Questions of a few acres or of petty cash," he says, "can be determined by truth and equity--the questions which are to issue in the perishing or saving of kingdom can be determined only by the truth of the sword and the equity of the rifle."

The absurdity of the present belligerent attitude of nations toward each other is strikingly brought home to us by a paragraph in Sidé's *Political Economy* as follows:

"If the man in the moon, or rather an inhabitant of Mars were to visit our planet and learn that a civilized country like France was obliged to spend £40,000,000 a year to insure safety, he would pity her for having such barbarous nations as neighbors, but his astonishment would be greater if told that new countries like America and Australia have little burden for armies, because their neighbors are fortunately savages."

DURHAM, N. C.

### WHEN WILL THE PEACE OF FRANKFURT BECOME A REAL PEACE?

BY O. UMFRID.

Translated from *Die Waffen Nieder*.

On the 10th of May, this year, the memory of the peace concluded at Frankfurt twenty-five years ago, was cele-